

COBBETT'S TWO-PENNY TRASH

For the Month of September, 1830.

TO THE
WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND AND
SCOTLAND.

Kensington, August 26, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

60. NEVER since the world existed was there, to man in civil life, a time more important and critical than this; and never was it so manifest, that the condition of mankind depends wholly on their own conduct, and especially on that of the *working people*. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that you be perfectly well informed of the causes which have produced the recent glorious event at Paris. The great deed was there performed by the working people; and by the working people here, must finally be produced those salutary effects which every good man wishes to see produced. There are some men who happen to be so fortunate

LONDON: Published by the Author, 183, Fleet-street; and sold by all Booksellers.

nate as to be able to keep their bones from labour, who consider the working people merely as being made to toil for others. Others, again, who have their motives, doubtless, choose to assert, that the working people of England are poor things compared to those in France. My friends, your conduct, when you have had a fair opportunity, has always given the lie to this assertion; and, I am sure, it will always give it the lie.

61. I undertook this little work, solely for the purpose of giving you useful knowledge. This was my duty. You are employed in creating food and raiment, and lodging for me, as well as for all others who do not labour with their bodies; and it is my duty to supply you with that knowledge which I have been able to acquire, in consequence of my being supplied with the necessaries of life by your labour. At this moment, I can communicate no knowledge to you so useful as that which relates to the recent events in France; because, as I shall clearly show you, those events are closely connected, and almost identified, with our own public affairs, and with the interests of every man of us.

62. Pray observe, that all possible efforts are making to induce us to believe, that we are not at all in the situation in which the French would have been, if their abominable tyrants had succeeded. You may guess at the motive of these efforts: and you will judge of the falseness of the opinions which they are intended to inculcate, before I have concluded the observations that I am about to make. I am not going to give you a history or narrative of the recent transactions in France. You will find that done in a little work, published in weekly numbers in London, at STRANGE'S PUBLICATION WAREHOUSE, in Paternoster-row. These numbers are published weekly, price two-pence,

and are very well worthy of your attention. It is not a history of this great event that I am about to give you; but I am going to prove to you, that the Bourbon family have lost their crown by attempting to force upon France a government like that which exists in England now. What I am about to prove, I will state to you first shortly the substance, in five distinct propositions, as follows:

1. That it was the English Boroughmongers who instigated the ex-King of France to attempt to take away the right of the people to choose their representatives.
2. That our Boroughmongers intended to make the two legislative Chambers in France totally independent of the voice of the people.
3. That the people of France well understood what the government of England was, and saw clearly, that the English Boroughmongers were about to do this for their own sake.
4. That to prevent their doing this, the people of Paris shed their blood.
5. And that, therefore, the family of Bourbon owe the loss of their crown to the resolution of the people of France *to die rather than to submit to a government like that of England.*

63. Before I enter upon these propositions, I have some remarks to make upon the conduct of the Whigs and half Whigs, who are full as much mortified at this event as the Bourbons themselves. Upon all occasions, they have endeavoured, whenever they have opened their lips upon the subject, to cause the people to believe, that we have nothing at all to do in this affair, except merely to express our admira-

tion of the people of Paris, who have now got for themselves, *just such a government as ours*; and that we ought to admire them, and praise them, because they have *paid us the compliment* of fighting, even unto death, in order to obtain the *high prize of an English government*. This has been the language of the whole crew, wherever they have met. But it was particularly the language of the Scotch Whig place-hunters, who met at Edinburgh not many days ago. The great talkers were one JEFFREY, an Edinburgh reviewer, one COCKBURN, a lawyer, a DOCTOR MACKINTOSH, who is, I suppose, a parson, one SIMPSON, who appears to be a lawyer, too, and several others, amongst whom was our Middlesex and Greek-bond gentleman. Another time, I mean to expose the folly, as well as the insincerity of this crew, who manifestly got up this meeting, at which they resolved *not to subscribe* for the widows and orphans of Paris: they manifestly got up this meeting *to prevent a meeting* of the sincere, middle and working classes, who are found in Edinburgh, as well as every-where else. This grand meeting was to be a *damper*, to keep the honest and sincere cool and quiet; and even if it should finally fail, I should not fail to take the will for the deed.

64. The crafty and hypocritical crew, being thus assembled, praised the valour of the Parisians to the skies; commended them for their promptitude and valour; but, above all things, for their having spared their bloody-minded enemies, who, be it observed, *never spared them*; who were coolly playing at cards while the sanguinary Swiss, who had so long been clothed and fed by the industrious people of Paris, were butchering those very people. But, what delighted these Scotch tax-eaters most, was, the discovering that this revolution in France had given the French a Government *so very much like ours*; had given them a

state of freedom and of happiness *almost equal to our own*; and that, of course, *we could want no changes here*, being already in possession of what the brave Parisians had been fighting for! Filthy hypocrites! Base, but baffled deceivers. Some of the good fellows of Edinburgh, Paisley, and Glasgow, will read this paper; but, even without reading it, they would have detected this scandalous cheat.

65. Now, turning off these hypocrites with the back of our hand, let us come to my five propositions, as stated above: let us take them one at a time and go patiently through them; and, when we have done that, we may defy the devil to deceive us. The first proposition is,—

1. That it was the English boroughmongers that instigated the ex-King of France to take away the right of the people to choose their representatives.

66. Some one will say, “Why should our boroughmongers do this?” The reasons, my friends, are abundant. The distress into which the nation has been plunged by the enormous taxation, has made the people, every-where, wish for and petition for a reform in the House of Commons. This feeling has been gaining ground very fast, for more than three years: and the divers exposures which have taken place, together with our own acute sufferings, have made even the farmers cry aloud for parliamentary reform. That measure necessarily implies the destruction of boroughmongering and all its profits. One of our great arguments in favour of reform was, the prosperous and easy situation of the people of France. “Look,” we said, “there are the people of France; they experience no distress; they want no corn bills; they do not live on cold potatoes; they have no tithes; they have no hordes of pension and sinecure

“ people ; they have no bishops rolling in wealth ; no rectors
 “ with two or three livings each ; no poor curates starving upon
 “ a miserable pittance ; and why is it thus so well in France ?
 “ Because, and only because, there are no rotten boroughs
 “ and no boroughmongers in France ; only because the
 “ people *choose their representatives themselves, and*
 “ *choose them by ballot.*”

67. The argument was so powerful, the facts so notorious, the premises so true, and the conclusion so natural and so close, that it terrified our boroughmongers. They saw clearly that they must give way, or, *put down this example of happiness arising out of free elections.* They saw that if that thing continued there, their traffic could not continue. Indeed, the object of the twenty-two years' war was lost. It is notorious that the object of that war was to prevent parliamentary reform ; and that the object would be totally defeated if they could not now conjure up something to prevent France from being an example to England. If they could so contrive it that the people of France should be deprived of the right of election, and that the crown and the peers should, in fact, return all, or a majority of, the members to the lower house, then they had an answer ready for the reformers. “ There,” they would have said, “ you wild and
 “ visionary men, you see that the French have tried free
 “ election and ballot ; they have found that it will not do ;
 “ they have *given it up, you see,* and therefore, let us hear
 “ no more of your foolish noise about reform.”

68. Thus then, the WHY is clear : the boroughmongers had reasons more than sufficiently powerful for instigating the Bourbons to do what they did ; and, now, let us look at the facts in support of the charge that they did thus instigate them. In the first place, POLIGNAC, who was to be the

instrument in the work, was an old emigrant who had long resided in England, had married an English woman, had been a good while the French ambassador in London, when, in *August*, 1829 (pay attention to *dates*), he went from England to France, to be invested with the office of Prime Minister. Now, take these facts; that he had lived and had been in some sort bred up amongst our boroughmongers; that, the moment he was appointed Prime Minister, all our boroughmonger publications, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, began to praise the appointment; and that, as soon as the discontent of the French began to appear, these publications fell foul of the people of France and upon the honest part of the press, and began to insist that some great change was necessary in France; and that, for the peace of Europe (that is to say the upholding of boroughmongering), the Government of France ought to be rendered more monarchical. Things were going on thus in England, when the legislative Chambers met in France, in March or April last: the Chamber of Deputies, that is to say, the commons house, voted an address to the king, which as good as told him that he should have no money to be laid out by this ministry whose tyrannical intentions were well known.

69. But, before I say more of this, I must go back some months. The Polignac ministry was, as we have seen before, installed in the month of August, 1829, and very early in that month, the French press, faithful to its duty, *warned the people of the danger*, told them that Polignac intended to make them submit to a Government *like that of England*, and called upon them to resist. The press was *prosecuted* with all the rigours of the law, which, however, by no means checked that press, which persevered in a manner that will reflect everlasting honour on it. The na-

tion became fully sensible of the danger, and the people themselves began to *prepare for resistance* so early as the month of *February* in the present year. What they dreaded was, that they should be deprived of the right of freely choosing, and by ballot, their *own representatives* ; they saw that, if they had taxes imposed upon them by men chosen by the king or the peers, or both together, *they should be slaves*. They began to form associations for *legal resistance*, in the first place. A part of France, called BRITTANY, had the great honour to set the example ; and, after some consultation on the subject, the leaders there met, and agreed to form an association on the following grounds, and for the following purposes, as expressed in their declaration and propositions, *every word of which I do beseech you to read with attention !*

“ We, the undersigned inhabitants of the five departments of the ancient province of Brittany, under the cognizance and protection of the Royal Court of Rennes, bound by our own oaths, and by those of the chiefs of our families, to the duty of fidelity to the king, and of attachment to the Charter ; considering that a handful of political intriguers have threatened to attempt the audacious project of overturning the constitutional guarantees established by the Charter ; considering that it is due to their character and their honour to imitate the generous resistance of their ancestors against the encroachments, the caprices, and the abuse of Ministerial power ; considering that resistance by physical force would be a dreadful calamity, and that it would be without motive while the means of *legal resistance* remain open to us ; that in recurring to the judicial power the best prospect of success is to assure the oppressors of a fraternal and substantial union ; under the ties of honour and of right we therefore resolve—

“ 1st. To subscribe individually the sum of 10 francs, besides a tenth part subsidiarily of the contributions subscribed by the undersigned in the electoral lists of 1830, and we oblige ourselves to pay to the order of the General Collectors, should it become necessary to name them, in conformity with the third of these resolutions.

“ 2d. This subscription is to form *a common fund* for Brittany, destined to indemnify the subscribers for the expenses they may in-

cur in consequence of the *refusal to pay any public contributions illegally imposed*, either without the free, regular, and constitutional concurrence of the King and the two Chambers, as constituted by the Charter, or with the concurrence of Chambers *formed by an electoral system, which should exclude our right of voting in the choice of representatives.*

“ 3d. In case of the official proposition, either of an unconstitutional change in the electoral system, or of the illegal establishment of taxes, two mandatories from each arrondissement are to meet at Poutivy, and as soon as they are met, to the number of twenty, they are to name, from among the subscribers, three General Collectors, and one Sub-Collector, in each of the five departments.

“ 4th. The duties of the Sub-Collectors are—1st. To receive subscriptions ; 2d, to satisfy indemnities, conformably to article 2d ; 3d, on the requisition of a subscriber, disturbed by an illegal contribution, to conduct in his name, under the care of the Sub-Collector of his department, or of a delegate named in his arrondissement, the defence and its consequences, by all legal means ; 4th, to bring a civil action against the authors, supporters, and accomplices, in the assessment and exaction of such illegal impositions.

“ 5th. The subscriber's name, M. —, and M. —, as mandatories for this arrondissement, to meet the mandatories from the other arrondissements, in conformity with article 3d, and to transmit their present subscriptions to the General Collectors when named.

70. This, which very nearly resembles the *American declarations*, at the time when this government of ours was preparing to compel that brave people to submit to be taxed without being represented, *alarmed* the tyrants exceedingly ; and well it might ; for it brought the question, at once, to issue, without rushing into civil war, and without provoking, or affording an excuse for, *military execution*. Indirect taxes could not be resisted in this way ; but, *direct taxes* could ; I mean all such taxes as are collected by the tax-gatherer *coming to your house and demanding the money*. You refuse to pay, you are prosecuted ; you go into court, and plead that you *owe no taxes, because you are not represented* ; the cause is given against you, and your goods

are seised; but who will buy your goods, who will dare to buy them? You are put into jail, suppose; but then this fund provides an indemnity for you. However, the thing could never go thus far: the government must resolve on open war; or it must give way. Nothing was ever more admirable than this, nothing more safe, nothing more effectual. And thus stood the people, resolved to face POLIGNAC and his masters, when the Chambers gave their answer to the King, as mentioned a little way back.

71. Having received this answer, the King *dissolved the Chambers*, hoping to get more pliant men by a new election. He was deceived; for he got all the same *stout* men again, and many others in addition. But, when he had *dissolved the Chambers*, our *boroughmonger press* broke forth with fresh fury against the press and the people of France, and urged POLIGNAC to *put them down by force*, saying that the French were *not fit* for liberty, such as *we enjoyed*, which was, indeed, very true; and, at any rate, they were resolved *not to have it*. But, that part of our press, most notoriously belonging to the *Boroughmongers*, I mean the QUARTERLY REVIEW, threw off the mask completely, and told POLIGNAC, that he *must* put down the press, and *take away the right of representation!* This Review was *published in the month of May*; and the following passage from it, will leave no doubt in your minds, that the writer (a mere hireling) knew, *in May*, precisely what POLIGNAC would do *in July*. I pray you to read it with attention; and you will clearly see, that the people of France were to be enslaved, lest the continuance of their freedom should give countenance to our demand for Parliamentary Reform.

“ We, therefore, *hope and trust*, that the King of France and his “ *present ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in estab-*

“ *lishing a censorship on the press, and likewise in acquiring so*
 “ *decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies, that its*
 “ *existence as an independent body capable of bearding the monarchy,*
 “ *as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised. This, we*
 “ *own, will be a virtual abolition of the charter, but the question is*
 “ *obviously reduced to this: Shall the monarchy, which is suitable*
 “ *to the country, be overthrown, or shall the charter, which, in*
 “ *every possible view, is unsuitable to it, be abrogated?* It will be
 “ *asked, Why need we care what France does? Why not let her do*
 “ *what she pleases?* What have we to do with her institutions, as
 “ *a nation, more than we have with the domestic arrangements of*
 “ *our next-door neighbour in the street? The answer to this, un-*
 “ *fortunately, is but too ready. If our neighbour merely beats his*
 “ *wife and children, and regulates his personal concerns in the*
 “ *worst way possible, we have no right to complain; but if he gets*
 “ *intoxicated, and flings about firebrands, so as not only to set his*
 “ *own house on fire, but to threaten the destruction of the whole*
 “ *parish, we are compelled, in spite of our love of quiet, to take*
 “ *a lively interest in the proceedings. If the French could be cir-*
 “ *cumscribed by a great Chinese wall, within which they might cut*
 “ *one another's throats, an experiment to their hearts' content on*
 “ *irreligion and democracy, it would signify less to the neighbour-*
 “ *ing countries. But when the amplest experience proves, that no*
 “ *commotion of any extent in France ever fails to embroil the rest*
 “ *of the world, and when we know that there are innumerable ob-*
 “ *jects of ambition, of aggrandisement, and of national revenge, all*
 “ *at this hour conspiring to stimulate a large portion of the French*
 “ *population to fresh wars, we cannot possibly view their present*
 “ *unsettled state without the deepest anxiety. We trust we have*
 “ *said enough to show that there is only one course of measures by*
 “ *which good order can be preserved; and however repugnant it*
 “ *may be to our English tastes, the necessity of the case requires*
 “ *that we should not shrink from the trial, but be prepared to wit-*
 “ *ness, as the less grievous of the two evils, the temporary re-*
 “ *establishment of a tolerably absolute authority on the part of the*
 “ *crown of France. If this be impossible, or if the attempt be*
 “ **BUNGLED IN THE EXECUTION, we may bid adieu to re-**
 “ *pose, and buckle on our armour for another quarter of a century of*
 “ *wars. We think it is hardly possible to doubt that, unless the*
 “ *existing Government adopts, and succeeds in, carrying into effect,*
 “ *some very decisive measure* **IN THE COURSE OF THE PRE-**
 “ **SENT YEAR,** there will ensue *another burst of convulsion;*
 “ *and Napoleon has left no saying of more indisputable truth*
 “ *behind him, than that a revolution in France is a revolution in*
 “ *Europe.*”

72. I need add no comment. The proof is complete; thousands of men have been hanged upon evidence less clear

than this. I have clearly shown the *powerful motive* that the Boroughmongers had for instigating POLIGNAC ; here is the *act* of instigation ; and that this writer is *hired by the Boroughmongers*, is as notorious as that my name is WILLIAM COBBETT.

2. That the Boroughmongers intended to make the two legislative Chambers of France like the two Houses of Parliament in England.

3. That the people of France well understood what the government of England was, and clearly saw that the Boroughmongers were about to do this for their own sake.

73. The first of these propositions is proved by the above extract from the Quarterly Review, and from POLIGNAC's ordinances. The Review, in another part of it, says, *that the power of choosing a majority of the Deputies ought to be in the Crown, and in an hereditary aristocracy, as it is in England* ; and POLIGNAC's ordinances of the 25th July, provide for the securing of this. The THIRD proposition is established by a fact, that all the world is now acquainted with ; namely, that in the month of November last, there was circulated throughout all France, the following description of the English government. It first appeared in a paper called the CONSTITUTIONNEL, which is published at Paris ; and I beg you to read every word of it with attention. You will find in it nothing that I have not said a hundred times over ; but, you are here to look at it as something that the people of France saw, probably, for the first time. Do, pray, read it with attention. This, and other such publications, produced the glorious event at Paris. Read this description, and then you will cease to wonder at

what has taken place. After speaking of systems of oppression, which cannot, in these days, be put in force, the writer proceeds thus :

“ There is a *third system*, which it would be much more practicable to put into execution than any of these. It is *what England is offering us the model of*, and M. de Polignac has just been trying to set in operation, namely, the system of making slaves and tools of all the working classes in a body, by the higher orders, *under constitutional forms and names*. In this system, which the English Government understands prodigiously well, *the power of making the laws belong exclusively to the members of the aristocracy* ; public situations, which are the road to honours and to fortune, fall to the share of nobody but those who are vested with the power of making the laws, their children, or relations ; and the people, who do the work, are the property in fee of those who have the management of public affairs. The English aristocracy displays great intelligence in the way in which it accomplishes its ends with the working classes. It leaves them all the means for the production of wealth ; and every one of the individuals under its influence may choose the business by which he thinks he can get the most. All attempts on the security of individual property, which would only cause capital to disappear and hinder production, are completely put down. The people that work are neither hampered nor disturbed in their labours, but are as free in their industry and their commerce as bees in a hive. The working classes, however, derive no more advantage, in the end, from this freedom in their operations, than the bees do from the honey they take so much pains to make. The higher orders, through the medium of the taxes which they alone have the privilege of laying, soak up the greatest part of the produce, and divide it under different names among the members of their body. To describe the thing properly, the English Parliament performs the office of a pump ; it sucks up the wealth produced by the working classes, and turns it over into the hands of the families of the aristocracy. But as it is a machine that has a head, and can think, it leaves the working people as much as is necessary for them to go on working. The English aristocracy allow a certain number of men from the ranks of the people to find their way into the two houses of Parliament : and it is for the interest of its supremacy that it should be so. If the body that makes the laws consisted entirely of the persons for whose advantage the industrious portion of the community is set to work, they might bring their power into peril by demanding of the people more than it was able to pay. The men from among the people who find their way into Parliament, take care to let them know when they are running into danger. THE OPPOSITION, in the machine of Government, does the duty of the *safety-valve* in a steam-engine. It does *not stop the motion* ; but it *preserves the machine*, by letting off *in smoke*, the power that

otherwise might *blow it up*. The exercise of aristocratical power being attached to the possession of great landed property, it is easy to see that younger brothers can have no share in the real estates which may be left by their relatives at their decease. The descendants of an aristocratic family would, in fact, all sink into the ranks of the common people, if they were to divide what is left by their relations in equal shares. The eldest son therefore keeps to himself all the landed property, to which is attached the exercise of aristocratical power ; and then he makes use of this power to get money for his younger brothers, at the expense of the working classes. It is a mistake to imagine, that in England all the property of a family in the higher orders goes exclusively to the eldest son. It is true, he takes the landed property, which is exclusively the family estate. But the younger brothers have for their share rich livings in the church, sinecures or places of some kind, which the public is obliged to pay for ; and all these are considered as part of the family property, as much as the other. For there never can be too much pains taken to impress the fact, that the higher orders consider themselves as having a property, not only in the landed estates which they possess by direct title, but in the working classes besides, on whom they lay taxes as they please, and share the proceeds among themselves. The higher orders in Great Britain (who must not be confounded with the English people, a people who are at their mercy to take what toll they please) will never allow the working classes in any country to be their own masters, as long as they can do any thing to hinder it. They know very well that their own power over the working classes in the countries under their control, will *never be out of danger being disputed, till the working classes in all other countries, too, are made the property of a family or of a caste*. And hence it is that they are found on all occasions making common cause with barbarism against civilization. They take the part of Austria against Italy, Don Miguel against Don Pedro, and the Turks against the Greeks. If they ever *make a show of declaring for the defenders of freedom*, it is only to get hold of the direction of their affairs, and *hand them over to their enemies*. Any-where, and every-where, in short, where they espy the seeds of any-thing like liberty, they *hurry off to spoil or smother them*. If we judge of the plans of the Polignac ministry by the past proceedings of the individuals that compose it, and by what is *let out by the papers in the service of the English Ministry*, it is easy to tell what kind of *transformation* the Charter is intended to undergo *in their hands*. All Frenchmen will be equal in point of law, whatever in other respects their title or their rank ; but the great mass of the population will be stricken with political incapacity, and all public power will belong to the aristocracy. They will all contribute indiscriminately, in proportion to their property, to the expenses of the state ; but the members of the aristocracy will take back again, under the name of pensions or of salaries, the portion that they have paid, and divide the rest among

themselves besides. They will all be equally *admissible by law* to both civil and military offices; but there will be no-body *really admitted*, except at the good pleasure of the aristocracy, and to serve its purposes. Personal liberty will be guaranteed to every-body; and no-body will be seized or prosecuted, but in the ways and terms the aristocracy has fixed upon. Every man will have equal liberty to profess his religion, and receive the same protection for his forms of worship; only no-body must utter any opinion that may be contrary to the tenets of the church. Every-body in France will have a right to publish and print his thoughts; at his own risk, if he says any thing that is against the interests of the church and the aristocracy. To wind up all, property of all kinds will be quite secure; only the aristocracy will have the power of laying it under any contributions they think proper, and so applying it to their own use.—THIS IS THE SORT OF CHARTER the Polignac ministry would bestow on France, if it succeeded in getting a majority in the Chambers, and the King's consent. It is for the electors to consider whether they choose to put up with SUCH an order of things. *Their fate IS IN THEIR OWN HANDS.*

74. There, my lads of the working classes, that is the picture that roused the French. That is the picture that made the working people of Paris *fly to arms*. Whether the picture be true or false, I will leave you to decide; but, at any rate, you must now be satisfied, that this is what our boroughmongers intended to cause to be introduced into France; and,

4. That, to prevent their doing this, the people of Paris shed their blood; and,

5. That, therefore, the Bourbons owe the loss of their crown to the resolution of the people of France, *not to submit to a government like that of England.*

75. I will attempt no commentary. You now, my friends, see the true cause of the glorious achievement in France. It was not "seditious writings;" it was not *love of change*; it was not *want of religion*; it was nothing but a conviction, that the POLIGNAC Ministry intended to *bend their necks*

to a boroughmonger system ; rather than submit to which, they resolved to shed their blood ; and, as it is clear, that POLIGNAC and his master were instigated to the base attempt by our boroughmongers, to them, Charles and his family owe the loss of their crown ! Let them now, then, condole with one another : they are all got together here : let them howl, while the sensible and brave people of France dance and sing.

76. But, there is one part of the above picture to which I must call your particular attention. It is that which exhibits our "OPPOSITION," which "in the machine of government, does the duty of a safety-valve in a steam-engine. It does *not stop the motion ; but it preserves the machine, by letting off, in smoke, the power, which, otherwise, might blow it up.*" How true this is ! How I should like to take the man by the hand that wrote this ! "Aye," say the boroughmongers, "and *we know where he got it.*" Yes, you base wretches, you do know where he got it, and I know too ; and it glads my heart to think how I have reached you, in spite of all your power and all your cunning and all your hypocrisy and all your malice. This is really like "*bread thrown upon the waters ;*" it is come back again after many days. France owes her deliverance to the good sense and to the valour of the people ; but that sense and that valour would not have been exercised had not the press pointed out the danger ; and the press of France could not have pointed out the danger, notwithstanding the great ability of the writers, if those writers had not been in possession of the facts ; and those facts were furnished by me, and *never by any-body else.* Our great curse has been, the deceiving of the people by *sham patriots, who have passed under the name of political parties.*

When I was a child, it was the *court-party* and the *country-party*. This was a fraud upon the people; but after this came Tories and Whigs (taking up names that had been in use more than a century before); and, each choosing a leader, the Tories were called Pittites and the Whigs Foxites; and thus, for about thirty years, they were drawn out in battle array, the two parties taking care not to injure one another, each laying hold of the public wealth, and pulling and tearing like two savage wolves striving for the exclusive possession of a sheep. In the year 1806, when the Foxites had put out the Pittites, and got into their place, or, rather, had made a compromise and coalition with a part of the Pittites, and had agreed to an indemnity for all the atrocious deeds of the Pitt faction; then it was that I set myself to work to break up all parties; laying it down as a maxim that the one was just as bad as the other, and that the opposition was a mere sham, intended to keep the people quiet while each party plundered them alternately.

77. From this time, which is now four-and-twenty years ago, I have been abhorred by these factions, and have most severely suffered in consequence of that abhorrence; but I have demolished the factions, and the words Tory and Whig now excite ridicule and contempt at the bare sound of them. The words "*opposition*," and "*gentlemen opposite*," are become equally contemptible. The people have long looked upon the whole as one mass of fellows fighting and scrambling for public money; some fighting to keep it, and others scrambling to get at it; some dogs in possession of the carcase, and some growling and barking because they cannot get at a share. Seeing the people despising both these factions, a *third* has started, to whom I have always given the name of SHOY-HOYS; and now I will tell you

why. A shoy-hoy is a sham man or woman, made of straw or other stuff, twisted round a stake, stuck into the ground, and dressed in clothes of man or woman, with arms, legs, head, and every-thing, and with a stick or gun put into its hand. These shoy-hoys are set up for the purpose of driving birds from injuring the corn or the seeds, and sometimes to frighten them from cherries, or other fruit. The people want a reform of the parliament, and there has for a long time (about fifteen or sixteen years) been a little band, who have professed a desire to get parliamentary reform. They have made motions and speeches and divisions, with a view of keeping the hopes of the people alive, and have thereby been able to keep them quiet from time to time. They have never desired to *succeed*; because success would put an end to their own hopes of emolument; but they have amused the people. The great body of the factions, knowing the reality of their views, have been highly diverted by their sham efforts, which have never interrupted them in the smallest degree in their enjoyment of the general plunder. Just as it happens with the birds and the shoy-hoys in the fields or gardens. At first, the birds take the shoy-hoy for a *real* man or woman; and, so long as they do this, they abstain from their work of plunder; but after having for some little while watched the shoy-hoy with their quick and piercing eyes, and perceived that it never moves hand or foot, they totally disregard it, and are no more obstructed by it than if it were a post. Just so is it with these political shoy-hoys; but, their demerits are not, like the field shoy-hoys, confined to the doing of no good; they *do mischief*; they really, like my friend the Frenchman's safety-valve, assist the factions in the work of plunder; which I remember an instance of, indeed, in the curious case of a horticultural shoy-hoy, which case very aptly illustrates the functions of these political deceivers. The birds were committing great

ravages upon some turnip-seed that I had at Botley. "Stick up a shoy-hoy," said I to my bailiff. "That will do *no good*, sir;" "It can do *no harm*, and therefore, stick one up." He replied by telling me, that he had, that morning, in the garden of his neighbour MORELL, who had stuck up a shoy-hoy to keep the sparrows from his peas, actually seen a sparrow settled, with a *pod*, upon the *shoy-hoy's hat*, and there, as upon a dining table, actually pecking out the peas and eating them, which he could do with greater security there where he could look about him and see the approach of an enemy, than he could have done upon the ground, where he might have been taken *by surprise*. Just exactly such are the functions of our political shoy-hoys. The agricultural and horticultural shoy-hoys deceive the depredating birds but a very short time; but they continue to deceive those who stick them up and rely upon them, who, instead of rousing in the morning, and sallying upon the depredators with powder and shot, trust to the miserable shoy-hoys, and thus lose their corn and their seeds. Just thus it is with the people, who are the dupes of the political shoy-hoys. In Suffolk, and the other eastern counties, they call them *mawkeses*. Mawkes seems to be the female, and shoy-hoy the male, of this race of mock human beings; and I suppose that the farmers in the east, from some cause or other, look upon the female as the most formidable of the two. At any rate, our political shams are of the masculine gender, and therefore shoy-hoy is the proper name for them.

78. Now then, who are our shoy-hoys? There is BURDETT, who seems to be the patriarch of the race, his MAN, ALDERMAN SHAWL, RUSSELL, NUGENT, WILSON, and several others, besides BROUGHAM and HUME. As to Burdett and Hobhouse, after the severe pelting at West-

minster, after Shawl and Wilson's keeping away from the meetings in honour of the French ; as to Russell, with his four great towns and his Bloomsbury *vestry bill* (and which bill I shall give a history of, one of these days) ; as to Nugent, who wrote a letter in praise of the deeds of the people of Paris, and who (as the newspapers tell us) slipped down afterwards to visit the ex-King at Cowes ; as to these, I will say no more now, nor as to MONCK (one of Burdett's purity-dinner companions) ; for he has retired to walk arm in arm about Reading with the immaculate Rhadamanthus of the *consistory court* : as to these, I will say no more now, but, with regard to Brougham and Hume, I must beg you to be upon your guard. Watch them well, and you will soon discover that they answer all the purposes of the shoy-hoy in Morell's garden. Brougham has been roaring away in the north against him whom he used to call the "greatest captain of the age," and *whose eloquence he compared to that of Cicero*, at the time when the Master of the Rolls was expected to die. You will find him change his tone ; and particularly, you will find him shuffle out of parliamentary reform. You will find Joseph Hume to do the same ; and, indeed, he has already begun to do it ; for, at Edinburgh, the other day, he observed that there was "*still further reform wanted in this country.*" Still ! What does he mean by *still* ? Further reform ! What does he mean by *further* ? Why, I will tell you what he means ; he means, as he said in the pure house, that *no reform is wanted*, except such as HE can produce by the totting-up of figures. That is what he means ; and I dare say he has set all the Presbyterian parsons in Scotland to pray that there never may be a parliamentary reform as long as breath shall warm his body.

79. The Parliament is said to be summoned to meet on

the 26th of October, for the *dispatch of business*. What business? Of regency, when we have got a king on the throne likely to live for twenty years? About the revolutions in Europe? What could the Parliament do about those revolutions. But, I will tell you what it may meet for: and that is to legalize an order in council for restraining the bank and making paper a legal tender; and this I think by no means impossible, but, on the contrary, very probable, if what the newspapers tell us be true, relative to the quantities of bullion continually going out of the country; and, if this should be the case, you will see what a figure the shoyhoys will make. Two babies; nice little, round-faced, fat, babies, taken out of any two cradles, or out of any two sets of swaddling-clothes in any two Scotch burghs, know just as much what to do or what to recommend in such a state of things, as Brougham and Hume. They would stand aghast: they would cling hold to the first folly that presented itself; they would shift their hold every moment; and the great counties of York and of Middlesex, would blush to hear them called their members. Be it a question of foreign policy, what do these men know any thing more about it than any real and genuine shoyhoy, who has now the guardianship of the fields. Oh, how I should like to see them engaged in discussing the question, whether it were right or wrong to make a bank restriction, in order to prevent the French from going to the Rhine. However, there will be plenty of time, hereafter, for all these things when the Parliament shall meet.

80. In conclusion, I beg leave to recommend to you to meet in your several trades, to subscribe you pennies a piece for the relief of the widows and the orphans of Paris. By paying the money to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, (who has acted a sincere and most excellent part in this

business,) or by leaving it at my office, seeing it entered in the book, and taking a receipt, in the name of SIR THOMAS BEEVOR, the Treasurer; by either of these means, you may be sure of the sending of the money to Paris, and as many of your names along with it as you choose. Always bear in mind that it was the WORKING PEOPLE of Paris who performed this great benefit for all the industrious people in the world. The slain have been slain for you as well as for their wives and children; and recollect how grateful it must be to those widows and children to receive consolation, and particularly from you, the brethren of their husbands and fathers. There is scarcely any man, who is in work, who cannot give a penny or twopence. Three pounds have just been received at my office, from thirty working men, in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, in Kent. You remember the voluntary contributions of the aristocracy for carrying on the dreadful war against the liberties of France. The liberties of France have, at last, prevailed, and have been secured by the devotion and the valour of the working people. The aristocracy and the clergy do not subscribe now; now that the object is for the relief of sufferers, and not for the procuring of destruction. The *Quakers*, too, where are they? They could subscribe for German sufferers, and Russian sufferers, and Hanoverian sufferers; aye, and though their religion forbade them to subscribe for powder and ball, they could subscribe to buy flannel shirts for the soldiers that were engaged in firing powder and ball at the French. Then, let me hope that they will subscribe a little now, for here are the wounded, here are the widows, here are the orphans, demanding their help.

I am your faithful friend

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE first number of this work was published on the *first of September*. Each number will contain *thirty pages*, at least, and will be sold for 8*d*. The history will be from the *earliest times*, and will come down to the day when I publish the last Number; but, I have *begun* with the REIGN OF GEORGE IV.; because, while the facts are all *fresh in our minds* is the time for putting them on *lasting record*. These, too, justice demanded to the memory of *his wife*. They are both dead now; she can suffer no more, and he can enjoy nothing more: all that ever can be known about their characters and conduct can now be collected together; and now, therefore, is the time to lay that collection before the world. This part of our history is demanded also by the necessity that there is of showing to the rising generation how *false are the assertions*, that this reign (including the Regency) was *prosperous for the people*. Those who are now from 17 to 21 years of age can have very little knowledge of the many striking transactions of this calamitous reign, during which so many and such daring assaults were made on our rights and liberties, and during which such sufferings were endured by the great body of the people. PEELE says, "that we are too *near* to the advantages which we have derived from the *mild and beneficent* reign of his Majesty to be able fully to *appreciate them*." Indeed! What; too *near* to the select-vestry law, the new-trespass law, the transporting-poaching-law, the Irish transporting-with-jury-law, too *near* to the dungeon law, and the famous six acts; too *near* to the Italian witnesses, to Castles, Oliver, Edwards; too *near* to Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, and Canning; too *near* to all those and a thousand other things and persons, "to be able *fully to appreciate* the advantages we

derived from their *mildness* and *beneficence*!" Better to stop, I suppose, till we are got *farther off*; till *names* and *dates* are beyond the reach of all but a few; and till *facts* become *matter of dispute*, instead of being capable of proof such as to satisfy a judge and jury! Better stop, certainly, till the palace-building, the Irish starvation; till the 16th of August, till the 500 killed and wounded persons, and till the *letter of thanks to the Yeomanry cavalry*, be all forgotten! Oh, no! MISTER PEEL, we will, if you please, not stop so long as this. We will, while the story is fresh in our memory, have it down in *black and white*; in order that those who are coming up to be *men*, may learn how to appreciate these acts of "*mildness* and *beneficence*," and may know how *they* ought to act their part on the stage, which is now, according to all appearance, going to be a very bustling one.

W.M. COBBETT.

PRICES UP TO 31st AUGUST.

SMITHFIELD.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Beef, per stone	2	8	to	3	10
Mutton, ditto	3	0	to	4	2
Veal, ditto	3	8	to	4	6
Pork, ditto	3	10	to	4	6
Lamb, ditto	3	8	to	4	4

MARK-LANE.

Wheat, per quarter (fine) ..	68s.	to	72s.
Barley, ditto	35s.	to	38s.
Oats, ditto	28s.	to	30s.
Flour, per sack	52s.	to	60s.

PRICE OF BULLION.

Gold (per ounce) in bars	£3	17	10½
Silver ditto ditto	3	4	11½

The Quartern Loaf 10½d.

Printed by Mills, Jowett, and Mills, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.